2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

crucial part is played by either community in the ceremonies of the other. A Badaga partner and his family or friends will often be invited to the naming, wedding or funeral of a Toda. The Badagas at these times eat Toda food provided it has been prepared in a separate pot.[14] Similarly Badagas may invite their Toda partners and friends to weddings, funerals and certain of the annual festivals, to most of which the Todas are required to bring some useful present. On these occasions the visiting Todas or Badagas should be fed, and it is also appropriate for the hosts to make small gifts; yet gift exchange is not requisite to all ceremonies.

The Toda, like the Kota, has an obligation to visit the married daughter of each Badaga partner once in a lifetime. He sends word of his intention; then comes and presents her with a buffalo heifer or perhaps something even more valuable. In return she gives him a cloak and possibly some other clothing.

Once a year each Badaga village holds a ceremony at which the cattle are given salty water. The Toda or Todas who are the associates of men in that village are invited on this occasion to take whatever salt is left over from the ceremony (Hockings, 1968c, 414).

All Todas from nearby hamlets are invited to attend the great memorial festival in which Badagas honour one generation of their dead; indeed it cannot take place without permission from some Todas of the neighbourhood. These local men bring cane to use in the catafalque and are offered Re. 1.25 in return. A Toda associated with the Badaga village may opt for the special duty of sitting at the major entrance and receiving each group of visitors. He asks every group if they include any important man—one carrying some administrative portfolio or a member of the gentry.[15] If there is such a man in the group the Toda tells them all to wait while he brings the commune headman to welcome them. Otherwise he conducts the visitors to the street where a great catafalque has been erected. The Toda is fed while he performs this service, and afterwards he gets a gift. Todas may have had a similar role during the funerals of the Badaga divisional headmen. Their main duty seems to have been policing the vast crowds that used to attend those ceremonies (Lütze, 1887, 14; see Plates 13–14).

As was mentioned earlier,

> At the present time [1902], the amount of grain supplied by the Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both

not savour the idea of that; (although if it happens nothing in particular follows). Should the infant die shortly afterwards, before it has been named, it too is treated as afterbirth material and buried at the usual cemetery. If someone asks the mournful family who has died, the answer must be "No one."

4.13. For the first day or two after birth the mother is given a hot bath four or five times daily. Up till this time she cannot bathe herself, but must have some woman help her. After that time she bathes herself in hot water, twice daily until 25 to 30 days after delivery, and thereafter once daily. Always, the water used is hot. The baby is given a bath three times daily for the first eight days, then twice a day till the nineteenth day, and thereafter once daily, in the evening only.

In the old days, the newly delivered mother was given a special preparation of little millet. This was first baked, and then boiled till it was a mushy porridge (Birch 1838: 104). Now she eats a non-liquid curry. For that peppercorns are fried in a clarified butter, then ground up on the curry grinder. Then some garlic is fried, and salt, tamarind and clarified butter mixed with it while it is kept warm beside the fire. A limited amount of this food is given to the mother twice daily until the fourth or fifth day after delivery, by an old woman who will restrict the quantity even though the mother might want more. Thereafter, for the next 20 to 40 days, according to the state of the mother's health, she continues with this as her morning meal, but in the evenings has paddy rice and lentil soup. She can take a small amount of milk, even from the day of her delivery. This can only be cow's milk, and must be boiled before drinking. It is recognized that a woman who has given birth may appear weak and ugly, and repeated births can lead to ill-health. A proverb puts it this way: "The appearance of a woman who has just given birth to one child is like the appearance of a heifer which has given birth that day."

No woman who has given birth may touch any household utensils till the third, fifth, seventh or ninth day after the first full or new moon, I was told; alternatively it has been reported that she must first see the crescent moon before the period of pollution can end (Thurston 1909: 109). She should be given no work for eight days before or eight days after her delivery: during that fortnight her husband must provide for all her needs, even if he is on the point of divorcing her. It used to be that after five, seven,

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Thurston (1909). We will simply offer a listing of what the ceremonies are, in chronological order, and will also describe those nonceremonial childhood events which alter the surface of the human body in some way, and hence are of some relevance to an account of Badaga health and illness.

(*a*) *Birth*. The only ceremonial aspect at delivery is a magical act to ward off any evil influence. It is described in detail above (4.11).

(*b*) *Naming*. This important ceremony makes the child into a social being, and must be performed before the fortieth day of life. Should it die before the ceremony the child's corpse is buried without a formal funeral (Jagor 1876: 199; Thurston 1909: 110).

(*c*) *Head Shaving*. This is usually combined with the ear boring, and should occur within about a year of the child's birth, but after the naming ceremony. The shaving is now done with a razor but formerly used a fragment of bottle glass (Thurston 1909: 110). Children should have a second complete shave at any time from two weeks to a year afterwards, but with no further ceremony, before their hair is allowed to grow long.

(*d*) *Ear Boring*. Sometimes this used to be combined with the naming ceremony (Jagor 1876: 199), but otherwise it occurs during a child's first year. It should follow the shaving. An earring is simply touched to the child's ear, but several years later the lobes will be punctured without any further ceremony, using the point of an earring for this (Rhiem 1900: 503).

(*e*) *First Tooth Ceremony*. Generally all babies get their lower teeth first, but in the case of a boy there will be a small ceremony if he gets teeth in the *upper* jaw first.

(*f*) *School*. There is no ceremony for when a child starts school, but the parents select an auspicious day for this and distribute sweets to the new classmates.

(*g*) *Nostril Piercing*. This is done in a girl's ninth, eleventh or thirteenth year on an auspicious day, but without any ceremony. In earlier times it was essential for a girl to have a nose-ring before she got married. Since about 1955 the practice has stopped altogether, and before that it was often combined with a girl's tattooing.

(*h*) *Tattooing*. Today the tattooing of girls is going out of fashion, and few of the younger women are so marked. A century ago however all women were tattooed on the forehead, and Jagor illustrates

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

all over the patient by a therapist of the same sex, and this is only done at night-time. In addition the patient must swallow at least three mouthfuls of the medicine. A bed is prepared in a hot part of the house, and the patient lies on it and is entirely covered with as many rugs and blankets as possible. After 20 to 90 minutes of this the patient, who is not even allowed to bare his head, breaks into a sweat. If the patient is not cured on the first night of this treatment (generally because he has just had sexual relations), it is continued for the next two nights or even for five consecutive nights. If he is still not cured by then the therapist knows that the illness is something other than Small Wind.

Should the patient want to go out in the morning after receiving this treatment, his face and feet are washed and water sprinkled over his body first. During the days he is being treated his diet is generally rice with onions, green leaves (*soppu*, "greens"), buttermilk, curd and some salt. Until completely cured he should have no chili.

6.72. Leprosy is called *doḍḍa no:* ("big disease") as a euphemism for its real name, *kusta ro:ga*, which Badagas would not generally utter. It is thought of as the worst punishment that can come through illness for the heavy sins of one's ancestors. Neither the Badagas nor the Kurumba specialists have a cure for leprosy, although those patients who can afford it take opium continuously to ease the pain. People avoid taking girls in marriage from a leprous family, although leprous men are allowed to mix in public because the disease is not thought to be contagious. Dead lepers are always buried in large quantities of salt, and not cremated.

Other general illnesses are dealt with elsewhere in this volume, in Chapters 5, 7 and 8.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

164 will neither eat nor sleep as usual. Throughout it he should always be covered with cloths, and these can only be of cotton, never wool. The covering is necessary to prevent wind from blowing on the itches. The pus in the spots would exude, but were it to be blown by wind it would go inside the body instead, causing the patient to feel very sick or even to die. The house must always remain ritually pure while someone has chicken-pox; thus men may not smoke in it, the parents must not have sexual relations, and if the patient is still an unweaned baby its mother must not lie on a bed or on matting, but must sleep on some sacks laid on the floor. During this period nobody throughout the entire hamlet may prepare any foods in oil, and oil may only be used for lamps. When women are cooking in the patient's house, he is taken to another house or at least to the outer room, since the smoke from cooking can make his infection worse. Bands of Kota and Kurumba musicians, both lower status and impure local tribes, are on no account allowed into the hamlet while chicken-pox prevails there, even though they would normally attend at Badaga weddings, funerals and certain festivals. Therefore if a person happens to die while there is chicken-pox in the hamlet the corpse will quickly be buried or cremated; but then later, when there is no longer any chicken-pox, a band of Kota musicians will come and the traditional funeral ceremonies will be observed, using a stick in place of the corpse. Of all the various taboos that come into play during chicken-pox, that against sexual relations is the most crucial, that against cooking with oil the second, and that against Kota or Kurumba music the third most important.

People suffering from this disease are given "cooling" foods to eat, and preferably no "heating" foods at all. If the patient is an unweaned infant his mother has to adopt this food restriction too. Beyond this, there is also a technique for treating chicken-pox. On the third day after some spots

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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a dating which raises the interesting question of whether this worship was intended to soften her anger at the effectiveness of the newly-introduced "European" vaccinations (Stokes 1882: 173).

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It is believed that one infected person can infect many others, and yet Badagas feel that if someone from *beyond* the hamlet has seen an infected person before a neighbour in his *own* hamlet does so, the latter person is that much safer from attack. It is as though some of the danger has been carried off. A person may be infected by smallpox at any age, and he then retires to bed, while the remainder of the population leave the hamlet altogether. Someone of the same sex as the patient, and who has already had the disease, stays to attend him. This person need not be a therapist, but is advised by a therapist. It is believed that anyone who has already had smallpox cannot transmit the disease from an infected person to someone else unless he does it by giving the patient's clothing to somebody. This is quite unlikely to happen since other villagers are not in contact with him at the time. When a patient dies, all the people looking after other smallpox patients in that hamlet help bury the corpse. While it is permissible for other men to dig the graves, they keep well away when infected corpses are brought for burial. It is believed (and perhaps justifiably) that if they were cremated, the smoke could spread the disease.

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Smallpox gives the patient more trouble with itching than do any of the other "sister" diseases, and so he lies on big plantain leaves since these give a cool sensation. He is given a diet of nothing but "cooling" foods, with very little salt. All of the rules and prohibitions adopted during the treatment of chicken-pox also apply to the people caring for patients with smallpox: thus the house must be kept pure, men must not smoke there, sexual relations must not occur, and no oily substances may be used in cooking. Anyone, whether

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4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

164 **CHOLERA** (*ba:ndi be:di*)

7.6. Cholera is primarily an epidemic of the low country and is reportedly introduced to the Nilgiri Hills by inhabitants who visit the plains (Orton 1831: 406; Madras 1928: 63; Ketti Medical Mission 1943: 5). It is said to be caused by an evil god or goddess, and is one of the epidemics loosely labelled *na:du no:* ("countrywide illness").

Within two hours of a person's being attacked by cholera he will begin constant vomiting and diarrhoea. There is no accompanying fever; and it is by these two indications that the case is recognized as cholera. The body is now below its normal temperature and so must be given "heating" foods, generally arrack (2.6) and perhaps brandy; the patient is wrapped warmly and heated however possible. Others in the hamlet feel they have no chance to placate the deity who has brought cholera, or to stop her from coming. As soon as it is known that cholera has come everybody leaves the hamlet except for the one or two relatives who tend the patient. These people clean up after him, and are careful to keep their bodies heated along with his. Although people occasionally survive cholera, they most usually die in under two days. As soon as a person dies he is taken from the house and buried, whether it be day or night. No funeral takes place at this time, and no cremation is attempted.

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When the villagers know there is no longer any case of cholera in the hamlet they stay away from it for at least a further fifteen days, since they must allow the passage of the full period of fourteen days that separates the new moon from the full, or *vice versa*. Once back home, and unlike their return following a smallpox epidemic, they can immediately receive visitors from elsewhere or go anywhere themselves.

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164 **MALARIA** (*adurejara*) -

7.7 Malaria is considered a kind of fever, and is believed to be caught by drinking the water at places on the lower Nilgiri slopes, below the usual levels of Badaga settlement (Hockings 1974 : 210).

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9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

poor and unable to maintain itself, the village Monegar himself by his own authority or on the representation of the fact by some of the villagers calls a council, and as its head directs that each well-to-do Badaga family of the village shall give to the destitute Badaga so much of their property—land, grain, vessels, houses, &c. This custom is of special interest as showing how much vitality the idea of joint property still possesses, an idea specially characteristic of the old village-community system. The importance of the Monegar and of the village council in all matters affecting the social life of the Badaga community also throws some light on its original constitution. In all the cases referred to above nothing can be done without that important functionary, the Monegar, and in everything affecting the existence of a Badaga in his village the Monegar's word is law.

We have now traced a Badaga from his birth onwards, and it only remains to describe the rites that are performed on the occasion of his death and funeral. If the person who has died is less than five years old, there is no elaborate ceremonial, but in the case of others the funeral rites are both elaborate and interesting. As soon as all hope of recovery is gone, the dying man is given a gold coin (*Virarâyan panam*), dipped in ghee, to swallow. The relations feel happy if he swallows it, for they think that that money will be serviceable to him in the other world. If he is unable to swallow it, it is tied round his arm. Let us suppose that he has drawn his last breath and let us trace the after rites. If the person that is dead is a married man, the parents or other relatives of the wife are already in attendance for the occasion and present her with a cloth, of any colour except white, worth Rs. 5. This is called the *Mukkâdu* cloth and is meant to cover her face while weeping. It is thus almost equivalent to the mourning dress of the widow in modern civilised nations. All the wife's jewels, which consist of a gold *Mûkkutti*—nose ring—*Velli Surupapi*—silver hand-bangle—and a pair of finger-rings, are removed. Her *Kadukkan*—ear-ring—alone is left on her. Unlike the custom of other Hindu societies the dead body remains inside the house till the time of its removal and is not removed to the threshold as soon as life is extinct, but the relatives do not eat till the body is about to be removed from the house. News is sent out at once to all the neighbouring villages of the death that has occurred and people begin to pour in. The death news is carried by the Toraiyas, who perform many services for the Badagas for all of which they receive